
PROVIDING THE TASTE OF LEARNING: NADIA BOULANGER'S LASTING IMPRINT ON CANADIAN MUSIC

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According to music critic and musicologist Gilles Potvin, Nadia Boulanger's gift to Canadian music is exceptional. From 1920 to her death in 1979, she taught more Canadians than any other foreign teacher. Potvin supports his claim by naming more than forty musicians, belonging to three different generations and well known in various circles (Potvin 1993a, 1276–77). My own research has led me to identify some seventy former students of Boulanger, either born or having extensively worked in Canada (see appendix for a list of more than sixty of them).

Canadians were present in Boulanger's life from the early 1920s—that is, at the same time as her first American students¹—until the very end of her teaching career in the late 1970s. It is all the more surprising that no serious study on this interesting subject has been published. In the Boulanger literature, the presence of Canadians among her pupils is barely suggested and many errors are to be found.²

Boulanger's career is too long to be fully covered here. In view of both her reputation among Canadian musicians and her direct influence on the style of some prominent Canadian composers, the decades 1925–55 stand out as particularly interesting. In fact, dividing the pedagogue's teaching activities into a pre-war and a postwar period is actually relevant in this case, as I intend to point out. And although Nadia Boulanger's musical and pedagogical ideas have spread throughout Canada, I propose to emphasize her impact among

¹ The first American composer to study *composition* with Boulanger, according to Aaron Copland (1900–1990) and other sources, was Melville Smith (1898–1962), who became her student in the fall of 1920. Copland himself came to her in 1921 and Virgil Thomson (1896–1989) in 1925.

² For example, the composer Pierre Mercure (1927–66), who attended her Wednesday class in Paris only briefly in the fall of 1949, is identified in many sources as one of her Canadian students (see, e.g., Arnold Walter 1968, 246), while many other Canadians, who followed her instructions more diligently and for a significant time, are left unnamed. In a special issue of *La Revue musicale* devoted to the Boulanger sisters, Christiane Trieu-Colleney lists only two Canadian pupils: the same Pierre Mercure (identified in the “École française” category) and Quebecer Roger Matton (1929–2004) (curiously under the “École américaine” section) (1982, 87). In the appendix of this special issue, three other Canadian names appear: Mgr. Eleazar [Elzéar] Fortier (1915–84), Gabriel Charpentier (1925–), and Jean Papineau-Couture (1916–2000) (102–03). As for Boulanger's biographer, Léonie Rosenstiel, she alludes to only three Canadian students: Jean Papineau-Couture, Hungarian-born Istvan Anhalt, and Richard Boulanger (1998, see index 415–27). After 1945, Nadia Boulanger tried to keep records of her students, and her notebooks are said to contain more than 1500 names of students, from all around the world (Trieu-Colleney 1982, 101).

French-Canadian composers, the shared French language providing an important commonality. On the other hand, it is largely recognized that Boulanger's influence was not confined to composers, and I widened my enquiry accordingly. In addition to available (yet dispersed) testimonies and biographical notes, I shall draw on unpublished sources, mainly rich findings in the music department of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris³ and in the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec (BAnQ), in Montreal,⁴ as well as on private conversations and correspondence with Canadian musicians, whom I warmly thank for their help.

THE PRE-WAR PERIOD

Aaron Copland, a student of Nadia Boulanger in Paris in the early 1920s, complained of the lack of a true musical culture in his own country, even in such an animated city as New York (Cone 1968, 58). The same could be said of Toronto or Montreal. In the 1920s and 1930s, Canadian composers could not easily acquire a solid musical training, let alone a regular acquaintance with modernity, even in these two major cities. Concerts centred on the standard "common practice" repertoire. Modern music was generally confined to more intimate—almost subversive—venues. Moreover, in French-speaking Quebec, modernist artists had to deal with the censors of the Catholic Church, powerful up to the early 1960s. The important cultural links that respectively tied the French-speaking intelligentsia of Canada to France, and the English-speaking majority to England, led to a parallel evolution of musical trends. Financial resources earmarked for the liberal arts were scarce and asymmetrically distributed. French Canadians were statistically poorer at that time than Canadians of British extraction and, consequently, had limited access to higher education. And throughout the country, culture was considered best if imported.

For some privileged French-Canadian artists from the province of Quebec, Paris was an obvious and coveted destination, as early as the 1920s.⁵ The search for a national French-Canadian idiom—in music, as in other arts—implied travelling to the "*Mère-Patrie*," the motherland, as France was often called. In fact, no publicly financed French-language music schools existed before the founding of the Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique in 1943 in

³ I am deeply grateful to Alexandra Laederich, Secrétaire générale of the Fondation internationale Lili and Nadia Boulanger in Paris, for her kind support, as well as to my friend Anne Rochon, whose help has been invaluable throughout this investigation. The useful inventory of the correspondence received by Nadia Boulanger and kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France can be found in Laederich 2007b, 485–517.

⁴ For example, the Isabelle and Jean Papineau-Couture fonds in Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec contains thirty-three letters of both a personal and a professional nature, written by Boulanger over thirty-five years, between 1942 and 1977 (MSS 099, box 14). The composer and teacher Gabriel Cusson also kept a valuable correspondence with his former teacher (sixteen letters, Nadia Boulanger fonds, N.I.a 65). Boulanger's twenty-two letters to him are preserved (Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, MSS 095). It is highly probable that similar documents are waiting to be discovered elsewhere in various Canadian archives.

⁵ The Quebec composer Claude Champagne (1891–1965) studied at the Paris Conservatoire with André Gédalge and Charles Koechlin, among other teachers, from 1921 to 1928. After his return to Montreal, he became an influential teacher and a strong advocate of the French school.

Montreal (and a year later in Quebec City). The music faculty of the Université de Montréal was created as late as 1951. Both there and at the Conservatoire the focus was placed on theory and performance, rather than composition.⁶ Prior to the founding of these two important institutions, ambitious musicians had to rely on a few capable local private teachers. The cost of travel and overseas studies appeared prohibitive to many, while scholarships were rare, especially for composers. Undoubtedly there was a “dragging behind.”⁷ English-speaking Canadians were somewhat better served both in Toronto and Montreal.⁸ Still, until the 1950s, the main influence on English-speaking composers in the making was British, since they were often taught by musicians who had been born and trained in England, many of them rather conservative organists, such as Healey Willan (1880–1968) at the University of Toronto and Douglas Clarke (1893–1962) at McGill University (Proctor 1980, 33–34; Elliott 2008, 37). On both musical fronts, Nadia Boulanger brought a very different perspective.

A CONSTANT FLOW OF STUDENTS

The cellist and composer Gabriel Cusson (1903–72) was the first Canadian to study with Nadia Boulanger. From the moment he met her in 1924, the “Canadian connection” to the renowned pedagogue would never be broken (see appendix). One could benefit from Boulanger’s teaching in her legendary apartment at 36 rue Ballu, in Paris (both for individual and group lessons), or in the American Conservatory in Fontainebleau during the summer. Boulanger was linked to the conservatory from the time it opened (in 1921) almost until the end of her life.⁹ Students could also attend her popular history class in the École normale de musique, where she taught from 1920 to 1939.¹⁰ Sources do not always indicate precisely which venue applies to each one of her Canadian disciples. When the war rendered travelling to Paris nearly impossible, some Canadians studied with her, as we shall see, in Boston and Cambridge (Massachusetts), in Madison (Wisconsin), as well as in California. It may be useful to know that Boulanger spoke a competent enough, yet strangely accentuated

⁶ The first official publicly funded composition course in French was introduced by Claude Champagne in the Montreal Conservatory before the end of the Second World War, in 1944. In Quebec City, some basic rules of composition were taught at Université Laval, aimed essentially at writing rather conventional sacred music.

⁷ Readers interested in the development of French-Canadian music between the two world wars should read Lefebvre 2004, especially 107–96.

⁸ A music faculty was created in Toronto 1918, and two years later in Montreal at McGill University, but music had been long before part of the university curriculum in both cities. Teaching was focused primarily on performance and theoretical training of teachers-to-be, but some composition classes were also offered.

⁹ Whereas the list of American composers who studied at the Conservatoire américain of Fontainebleau, founded by Walter Damrosch in 1921, is impressive, Canadians apparently gained access to it only after the war. Boulanger may have used her influence to authorize these fellow North Americans, many of whom spoke French, to be allowed to sign in, but we have yet to find precise information on this topic. One of the first French Canadians to study at Fontainebleau might have been Pierre Beaudet in 1947, and he must have been fairly bilingual. Calvin Sieb (1925–2007) registered in the summer of 1950 but became a Canadian citizen only in 1970.

¹⁰ The École normale mostly trained future teachers.

English, even at the École Normale, to the dismay of the French-speaking members of her audience (Arthur Berger, quoted in Coppock 1978, 54).¹¹

On the whole, many categories of students crossed the threshold of her studio. Some of those Canadian students were true beginners, others had already acquired a solid musical education. While some stayed merely a few weeks, a number of them spent the full three or four years Boulanger expected from those asking for a thorough training. Many, such as Jean Papineau-Couture, Roger Matton, John Beckwith, Maurice Blackburn, Kelsey Jones, or Walter Buczinski, to name but a few, would become respected composers. Influential pedagogues are also to be found among them (Isabelle Delorme, Andrée Desautels, Rosette Renshaw, etc.). A significant number would later make their mark as performers (organist Françoise Aubut, harpsichordist Kenneth Gilbert, pianist Boyd McDonald, accompanist Jeanne Landry, violinist Paul Schermann, choir conductors Claude Thompson and Peter Schubert, etc.), others as administrators, journalists, or editors. In many cases, more than one category applies. In time, Canadian universities would welcome as faculty numerous members of the “Boulangerie.” After their studies with Nadia Boulanger, many Canadian students kept in touch with their respected teacher, and their letters shed a new light on the musical life of the period.

An interesting group of former students of European origin chose to immigrate to Canada from England, France, or Germany, even from more distant Latvia and Syria, often to become important members of the music scene. Hungarian-born Istvan Anhalt (1919–2012) arrived in Montreal in 1949 following a three-year stay in Paris. He is remembered in Montreal as an influential teacher at McGill University, notably as founder of the first electronic music studio in Quebec.¹² Armenian-born Maryvonne Kendergi (1915–2011), who studied for many years in Paris and moved to Montreal in 1956, was widely known for many decades as a tireless promoter of contemporary music, notably in the French public radio and television network. She recorded countless interviews with prominent composers, including Stravinsky (Bail 2002). A number of American-born musicians of the “Boulangerie” also came up north and joined the Canadian music community. Among them are Wallace

¹¹ Ned Rorem, an American composer and a friend of Boulanger (but never really a student) has stated that she, who taught so many Americans, surprisingly “never mastered English” (1982, 1). John Beckwith, who wrote an interesting account of his studies with Boulanger in the early 1950s (2012, 97–111), remembers that during the famous weekly group sessions that could attract nearly a hundred listeners to rue Ballu, as attested by some photographs (Spickett 1987), students were strongly encouraged to learn French, yet English and French were spoken equally and interchangeably. Some strongly accented Italian was brought in as well (Beckwith 2012, 103, and letter to the author, 5 August 2004). Boyd McDonald (born in 1932), on the other hand, testifies that in the late 1950s, most of the group teaching at rue Ballu was done in English from the fall until about Easter, after which she would use more and more French in class (letters to the author, 28 July 2004).

¹² A teacher at McGill University from 1949 to 1971, in 1959 Anhalt organized there what may well have been the first concert of “*musique concrète*” and electronic music in Canada. He later taught at Queen’s University, in Kingston, Ontario (1971–84).

Berry, Irving Heller, Kelsey Jones, Richard Johnston, William Jordan, Calvin Sieb, and Elliot Weisgarber.¹³

A RICH UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

The letters from Boulanger's Canadian students found in the National Library in Paris cover most of her teaching career. Beyond the expected expressions of salutation, gratitude, and best wishes for her birthday or the holidays, these letters contain precious details of Canadian musical life, or pertaining to Boulanger's activities in North America. Here are some examples.

Gabriel Cusson, Boulanger's first Quebec student I know of, returned to Montreal in 1930 after a few exciting years in Paris. Since 1924, he had been a regular at the rue Ballu Wednesday afternoon sessions, and probably at the École normale as well. A group photograph taken in 1929 shows him standing directly behind his teacher, wearing dark glasses (figure 1). The fact that he was blind did not prevent him from visiting her at her summer house in Gargenville, a favour not granted to everyone. In his long and sometimes highly personal letters, he related the countless difficulties he had to overcome to earn a proper living in Quebec, despite the fact that he could proudly display a diploma from the École normale.¹⁴ Among other musical experiences, he shared with "Mademoiselle," as she asked to be called, his enthusiastic reaction to *The Rite of Spring*, heard on public radio in 1933 and not yet performed in Montreal.¹⁵

The brilliant organist Françoise Aubut (1922–84) was arrested by the Germans in December 1940 and detained, together with her sister Rachel, in a prison camp in Besançon, in occupied France, because of their Canadian citizenship. Both women were freed seven months later, in June 1941, and Rachel Aubut promptly announced to Boulanger (then living in the United States) that her sister had resumed the study of fugue (with Simone Plé-Caussade) and was looking forward to taking up the organ again (with Marcel Dupré) as soon as she would find an instrument.¹⁶

As already mentioned, study trips to Europe during the war were out of the question for most North Americans. Yet composer Jean Papineau-Couture (1916–2000) could not be content with any teacher other than Boulanger. As if to answer his wish, *she* was the one to cross the Atlantic in November 1940, having accepted an offer to teach at the Longy School in Harvard, near Boston (1941–43) (see figure 2).¹⁷ His studies with her were to be a decisive experience. During the course of his stay in the city, he, together with other students

¹³ The pianist and composer Nathaniel Dett (1882–1943), born in Southern Ontario, followed a reverse course. Trained in part in the United States, he studied with Boulanger in Paris after 1925 and returned to the United States where he made his mark as a specialist of African-American music.

¹⁴ Archives of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Nadia Boulanger fonds, N.I.a. 65/9–50.

¹⁵ Letter to Boulanger written on the day of Cusson's 30th birthday, April 2nd 1933.

¹⁶ Card written by Rachel Aubut to a former student of Boulanger who served as one of her "liaison officers" in France during the war, Cécile Armagnac, 7 July 1941 (Nadia Boulanger fonds, N.I.a.50/384–89).

¹⁷ Her arrival had been announced for the beginning of the fall term. While waiting for her, Papineau-Couture enlisted for a year at the New England Conservatory (Bail Milot 1986, 23–25).



Figure 1. Boulanger's 1929 class at the École normale de Paris. Photographer unknown. Reproduced with kind permission of Bibliothèques et Archives nationales du Québec, Gabriel Cusson fonds (MSS95, 006, 13).

of Boulanger, attended concerts and private rehearsals of Stravinsky's music, including the rarely heard melodrama *Perséphone* (1934), conducted by the composer (Bail Milot 1986, 23–26).

Papineau-Couture, who was soon to become a true disciple and friend, helped Boulanger obtain a visa to remain in the United States in 1942, welcoming her as a guest in his Montreal home during the proceedings. He later joined her for ten weeks in Wisconsin in the summer of 1944. A photograph taken at Edgewood College during that summer and reproduced in Rosenstiel's biography shows him in the midst of a group of fifteen nuns (1998, 327). Also appearing in the photograph is the American Richard Johnston (1917–97), who partnered with Boulanger for the premiere performance of Stravinsky's recently composed *Sonata for Two Pianos* (1944). Near the end of Boulanger's stay in the United States, Papineau-Couture was also one of the happy few to meet her regularly at her retreat in California, near Santa Barbara, at the home of the wealthy Arthur Sachs family (figure 3). His wife Isabelle accompanied him and a few other Quebecers who moved in her Californian circle (which also included Stravinsky), notably the young catholic priest Elzéar Fortier (1915–84).¹⁸ Boulanger, who loved children, happily agreed to be the godmother of the Papineau-Couture's first daughter, born in September 1945, and eloquently

¹⁸ Letters exchanged between Boulanger and her French-Canadian students indicate that at least one of Fortier's two sisters, Cécile and Suzanne, might have visited him in California. Boulanger knew both women.



Figure 2. Papineau-Couture (first row, fifth from left) with class of Nadia Boulanger (centre, elbow on chair back) at the Longy School of Music, June 1942. Photographer unknown. This photograph appears in Louise Bail Milot's biography of Papineau-Couture (1986, 27). Reproduced by kind authorization of the author and of Papineau-Couture's daughter, Nadia.

baptized Andrée-Nadia.¹⁹ In the years to come, Jean Papineau-Couture would become a leading figure in Quebec's musical scene, notably as president of the Canadian League of Composers and dean of the Université de Montréal music faculty (1968–1973).²⁰

Well aware of Boulanger's close relationship with Stravinsky, former students occasionally turned to her for specific Stravinsky scores that were hard to find in Canada or for copies of his published talks in Harvard, *Poétique musicale* (1942).²¹ Scores and books would thus be sent, together with notes of support. Boulanger's favourite gifts included scores of Bach (a cantata), Fauré, Debussy (the *String Quartet*) or Stravinsky, and on occasion Pascal's *Pensées*. In return, students would help her acquire material for her courses or concerts.

¹⁹ A touching photograph of Nadia Boulanger holding the new born baby was used in the Montreal newspapers on Boulanger's visit in 1958 and is also reproduced in Louise Bail Milot's biography of the composer (1986, 33).

²⁰ Papineau-Couture also acquired a solid reputation as a teacher of theory at the Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique in Montreal (1944–66), and of composition and acoustics at the Université de Montréal (1951–82). The Paris archives contain twenty-two letters written to Boulanger over thirty years, either by Jean Papineau-Couture or his wife Isabelle (N.I.a. 92/144, 92/147–83 and 92/186–88). See note 4 for details on Boulanger's answers.

²¹ Stravinsky wrote at least part of *Poétique musicale* in Gargenville. Paul Valéry's "Discours sur l'Esthétique" (1939) appear to have been a model for it. Boulanger greatly admired the French poet and essayist. She often quoted him and invited him to tea following her famous Wednesday sessions. Stravinsky's essay, long believed to have been drafted substantially by Roland-Manuel on the basis of conversations with the composer, also greatly benefited from Pierre Souvtchinsky's contribution (Dufour 2006, 213–44). The English translation of *Poétique musicale* did not appear until 1947 (Harvard University Press), and this print run quickly sold out. The second edition appeared in 1970. I wish to thank the composer John Beckwith who brought my attention to this episode of Stravinsky's career.



Figure 3. Feather Hill Ranch, Montecito (California), home of the Sachs family, winter 1944–45. Standing are Arthur Sachs (centre) and Igor Stravinsky (right). Sitting at the far left is Vera Stravinsky. Jean Papineau-Couture kneels in front, while his wife Isabelle and Elzéar Fortier, a Canadian Catholic priest, sit at the far right, beside Mrs. Sachs. Nadia Boulanger is sitting with a little girl in her lap. Photographer unknown. Reproduced in Louise Bail Milot's biography (1986, 29). Reproduced by kind permission of the author and of Papineau-Couture's daughter, Nadia.

While studying at the Eastman School of Music, Richard Johnston sent her in California, at her request, the score of Fauré's *Quartet for Piano and Strings*, borrowed from the university music library.²² A year later, with immense pleasure, he attended the Fauré festival she organized in Boston in November 1945, a few weeks before her long-delayed return to France.

Students' letters also illuminate aspects of Boulanger's career and her struggles through life. Thanks to Leonie Rosenstiel, whose controversial but detailed biography has yet to be surpassed,²³ we already knew that during the war, notably while living in California, Boulanger tried to help friends still living in occupied France. She sent parcels and helped to raise money (1998, 315, 317, and 329). These efforts would not go unrewarded. Soon after she returned to Paris at the beginning of 1946 (she disembarked in La Pallice on 17 January), at a time when France was suffering from severe shortage of food and everyday life supplies, a number of her Canadian friends sent comforting letters, parcels, and goods. Among them was Elzéar Fortier. In his letters to Boulanger, Fortier later frequently alluded to the famous Wednesdays at rue Ballu and to the "Concerts Interalliés" he attended in Paris. From May 1934 onward, Boulanger conducted some concerts at this private "*cercle*" founded during the First World War.²⁴

²² Boulanger to Johnston, 4 September 1944 (Nadia Boulanger fonds, Paris, N.I.a. 77 149–72).

²³ Regarding some of Rosenstiel's controversial methods of research, see Alexandra Laederich (2007b, 710).

²⁴ Boulanger conducted a first concert for the Cercle interallié on 22 May 1934. Regarding this private club in which members of the Polignac family were involved, see, for instance, Alexandra Laederich (2007a, 186) and Jeanice Brooks (1993, 434–35).

As for Fortier, he later taught sacred music at Laval University, in Quebec City, and eventually became dean of the theology faculty of this institution.²⁵

I have been able to find only a few newspaper articles dealing with Boulanger's most significant visit to Canada, in May 1958.²⁶ For her Canadian debut as a performer, she conducted a concert of choral works in Montreal, where she remained a few days. The program, produced by Société Radio-Canada / Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, included compositions from the French Renaissance (Claudin de Sermisy, Claude le Jeune, Roland de Lassus), short works by Fauré and Debussy, Stravinsky's *Mass* for winds and chorus (1944–48), the *Psaume 150* for two soloists, winds, organ, and chorus by her pupil Jean Papineau-Couture (1954),²⁷ and finally three compositions of her sister Lili Boulanger, including the *Psaume 24* for double chorus. The performance was broadcast on 28 May throughout Canada, in the two official languages.²⁸ In Montreal, the renowned musician and pedagogue met with some former students, members of a recently created association of music teachers, and the music critic Jean Vallerand (1958).²⁹ She also gave a radio interview.³⁰ During her stay in the city she was an honoured guest of the Papineau-Coutures. I have found no trace of her visit to Toronto in the local newspapers, so her stay, either before or after the Montreal concert, must have been brief. But I have gathered from the correspondence that at least two former students, Richard Johnston and Talivaldis Kenins, briefly met with her there.

In their letters, students informed Mademoiselle of happy professional events, to which she often had given assistance by writing letters of recommendation.³¹

²⁵ Fortier's thirty-five letters to Boulanger are a valuable source of information on the problems of teaching and of composing modern religious music in Quebec (Archives of the Paris National Library, N.l.a. 70/273–323 and 70/330–44).

²⁶ Soon to celebrate (16 September) her seventieth birthday and first invited as a fellow of the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Washington, Boulanger had asked her North American friends to help her make the crossing of the Atlantic worthwhile. The result was an exhausting six-week tour of American and Canadian cities that included guest appearances, lectures, and concerts in Madison, Boston, New Haven, New York, Postdam, Montreal, and Toronto (Rosenstiel 1998, 372–76). A second visit to Toronto, planned for 1965, never materialized (Johnston to Boulanger, 16 November 1963, Archives of the Paris National Library, N.l.a. 77, 149–72).

²⁷ The work was premiered in 1955.

²⁸ This two-hour radio program, recorded in Montreal on 26 and 27 May, featured soloists Claire Duchesneau, soprano, and Pierre Boutet, tenor, the national radio orchestra, as well as a vocal ensemble prepared by George Little ("Les débuts canadiens de Nadia Boulanger" 1958; Pearce 1958). The program host on the French public network was Boulanger's former student Maryvonne Kendergi, mentioned above (Bail 2002, 281–82). Françoise Aubut played the main organ in this special concert (while another former student, the pianist Monik Grenier, acted as her page-turner).

²⁹ A photograph of Mademoiselle Boulanger with a group of former students, as well as members of the Association des professeurs de musique du Québec, was taken at the Reine-Elisabeth Hotel, where a lunch was organized in her honour ("Nadia Boulanger, à Montréal, rencontre ses anciens élèves" 1958). Boulanger had previously written to Papineau-Couture, asking him to organize a meeting with some of her former students living in Quebec. She specifically named Gabriel Cusson, Abbé Claude Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. Yehuda Vineberg (a Montreal music teacher, composer and conductor), the Anhalts, as well as the Benedictine monk Dom Georges Mercure (Boulanger to Papineau-Couture, 7 May 1958, Isabelle and Jean Papineau-Couture fonds, MSS 99, box 14).

³⁰ I have been unable to trace this radio interview.

³¹ Hungarian-born Istvan Anhalt, who had studied with Boulanger in Paris, wrote in March 1949 to announce his recent nomination as teacher at McGill Conservatory in Montreal, part of Mc-

Upcoming overseas trips would be announced, a rendez-vous requested, aspiring young pupils introduced. As would soon be the case for Olivier Messiaen (1908–92), another internationally renowned French teacher, Boulanger's reputation as a pedagogue spread largely by word of mouth. In Canada, Gabriel Cusson encouraged his student Jean Papineau-Couture to go and study with her, and the latter passed on the torch to his own young pupil, Gabriel Charpentier. Many examples of similar connections can be found. Boulanger highly valued faithfulness. Newly composed works were sent to her for approval, or at least comments, often no doubt with some apprehension. Sometimes manuscripts could be lost in the process, at least temporarily, notably a *Suite for Flute and Piano* (1944–45) by Papineau-Couture, the object of many worried letters.³² Dedicated scores offered to Boulanger by her Canadian students are incidentally to be found in the Médiathèque of the Conservatoire national supérieur de musique in Lyon; some annotated and revised manuscripts bear traces of a series of exchange between students and teacher.

Such an *esprit de clan*, the feeling of an extended family of sorts, was strongly encouraged by Boulanger, hence the informal Wednesday gatherings after class. On this side of the Atlantic, former students exchanged among themselves recent news pertaining to their teacher's life or career.³³ Istvan Anhalt and Papineau-Couture actually met in Montreal through her intervention. The former, who had recently moved to North America, was particularly grateful for it.³⁴ I found it noteworthy that this camaraderie crossed language barriers, at times a delicate topic in Quebec.

Students sometimes commented on socio-political events, as when Latvian-born Talivaldis Kenins confessed, in June 1959 (in the midst of the Cold War), his difficult adjustment to the overly calm Canadians, who appeared unworried that another conflict could start at any moment.³⁵ Boulanger was also kept informed of recent events on the Canadian music scene, on different teaching methods used in schools throughout the country, and on the major supportive role played by the Canadian public radio network, SRC/CBC. In 1949, Richard Johnston, then living in Toronto, wrote to Boulanger that "Canadian Radio ... may not be as fine as radio in France or England, but it is ten thousand times superior to anything you can mention in the U.S. Music means much to Canadian radio and I am happy to say they are allowing me to put my foot in the door right now."³⁶

Gill University. Richard Johnston, born in Chicago, did the same after finding a teaching position at University of Toronto in June 1949.

³² The handwritten score must have been eventually recovered or reconstituted, since the *Suite* is listed in Papineau-Couture's list of works (Bail Milot 1986, 133 and 287).

³³ For example, Richard Johnston had met Jean Papineau-Couture in California, and they occasionally wrote to one another.

³⁴ Anhalt to Boulanger, 8 March 1949, Paris National Archives, N.I.a. 50, 384–89.

³⁵ Nadia Boulanger fonds, Paris archives, N.I.a., 358–65. The composer Talivaldis Kenins (1919–2008) fled his native Latvia, occupied by the Soviet Union after the war, to begin a new life in Paris where he met Boulanger (it is unclear whether he took courses with her or simply had personal contact). He moved to Canada in 1951 and wrote occasionally to "Mademoiselle," always in French.

³⁶ Johnston to Boulanger, 20 June 1949, Paris National Archives, N.I.a., 77, 149–72.

THE RISE OF MODERNISM IN CANADA AND PARTICULARLY IN QUEBEC

The more I explore this topic, the more I am convinced that the somewhat belated development of a current of musical modernism in Canada is linked in many ways to Boulanger's extensive international career as a teacher, particularly before the war, especially so in Quebec (see, e.g., Boivin 2009). In the early 1930s, according to Elliott Carter—born in 1908 in New York and a student between 1932 and 1935—Boulanger was the only teacher who took modern music seriously and who gladly explained it to her students (Carter 1995, 290). Anyone interested in Stravinsky's music in the mid-1930s knew that Boulanger deeply admired his work (he was second only to Bach in her appreciation) and that she was close to him (Francis 2009). Going to her meant getting closer to the sun. This applied to Canadians as well. As we have seen, Jean Papineau-Couture moved for awhile, thanks to Boulanger, in the intimate circle of the great Russian composer. In Quebec he was soon to become the main ambassador of Stravinskian neoclassicism³⁷ and the music he wrote while studying with "Mademoiselle," such as the Sonata in G major for violin and piano, composed in 1944, testifies to this major influence (richly dissonant chords, metrical irregularity, baroque-like phrasing and counterpoint, tight motivic development), quickly absorbed into his personal idiom (example 1).³⁸

Boulanger often analyzed Stravinsky's compositions for the benefit of her students or proposed them as models when discussing ways to solve a technical problem. On her piano, students would often find his latest composition in manuscript. She asked her students, notably the Americans, whom she found less well-trained in score-reading, to sight-read such difficult works as his *Concerto for Two Pianos* (1935) (Rosenstiel 1998, 322). It should come as no surprise that, at least for the time of their studies with her, many of her pupils adopted a characteristic neoclassical and neo-tonal style, close to that of Stravinsky after 1920. This in itself, even if done with complete sincerity, would not guarantee her approval, however, for she had a remarkably discerning ear and could pinpoint the weaker passages in an instant, often at her first glance on the score. "Too many notes" was a regular criticism (Rorem 1982, 1).

Her dislikes could be just as firmly expressed as her devotions. For example, she had, a strong distaste for the music of Satie and, though sources disagree on this regard, Hindemith.³⁹ And many knew how strong a "non-supporter"

³⁷ Stravinsky's first visit to Canada occurred in January 1937. On 5 January he conducted two of his Diaghilev ballet scores (*Firebird* and *Petrouchka*) with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. The same month, together with the American violinist Samuel Dushkin (1891–1976), in Montreal Stravinsky offered a recital of his music for violin and piano, including the *Duo concertant* (1931–32) and an arrangement of the *Divertimento* after Tchaikovsky (1934).

³⁸ This sonata has been notably recorded by the Quebec violinist Angèle Dubeau and pianist Louise-Andrée Baril (Analekta, FL 2 3159, 1995).

³⁹ Among other sources, testimonies of Maryvonne Kendergi (Bail 2002, 102) and private communication from John Beckwith to this author. Boulanger met with Hindemith in Berlin in 1937 and, according to Rosenstiel, considered at that time having his treatise *Craft of Musical Composition* (published in German in 1937 and in English in 1941–52) translated into French (Rosenstiel 1998, 282; see also Schubert 1996, 37). She seemed to speak highly of his other pedagogical book, *Elementary Training*



Example 1. First page of Papineau-Couture's Sonata in G major for violin and piano, measures 1–10 (1944, rev. 1953). With kind permission of the Canadian Music Centre / Centre de musique canadienne in Montreal.

of Schoenberg she was. Yet her preferences for a certain French manner of expression does not appear to have been as strongly imposed on the “Boulangerie” as is often assumed. Rarely discussed in private or in class (at least, I gather, before the Second World War), such prominent figures as Bartók, Milhaud, Prokofiev, or Hindemith were nevertheless largely influential among her students, as was—naturally—Stravinsky. In Quebec, for example, these modernist models inspired what has been called “a genuine Montreal School of composers,” regrouping a handful of musicians born at around the time of the First World War, whose scores are marked by the aesthetic innovations of the first half of the twentieth century, such as a free use of dissonance, non-functional harmony, metric irregularity, etc. Two of Boulanger's students, Jean Papineau-Couture and Maurice Blackburn (1914–88), are included in this unofficial circle (Potvin 1993b, 2200).⁴⁰ Of course, musical quality can be found in any style and, in the long run, Boulanger's remarkable openness to modern

for *Musicians* (1946) and used it in her own teaching (Kendall 1976, 94). Yet she apparently had a limited respect for his later works (according to student George Wilson, quoted in Rosenstiel 1998, 360).

⁴⁰ Other members named by music critic and historian Gilles Potvin are Alexander Brott (1915–2005), Violet Archer (1913–2000), Robert Turner (1920–2012), and Jean Vallerand (1915–1994) (1993b, 2200).

music appears to have mattered more than her occasionally expressed critical judgment of some of her contemporaries.

Yet more should be said about her reactions to Schoenberg's music, since the case is somewhat more complex and may well have had historical consequences. Boulanger has been described by the singer and long-time collaborator Doda Conrad (1905–97) as resistant to any theoretical system, hence her lack of interest in twelve-tone music (Conrad 1995, 186). Many students, including Copland and Carter, confirm her doubts regarding most of Schoenberg's works, if not her clear aversion to them.⁴¹ Like Istvan Anhalt, those "in the know" quickly learned to keep their curiosity about the Second Viennese School to themselves: at the end of the 1940s, writes Anhalt's biographer, she had "no use for Schoenberg and his school and her resistance to twelve-tone music and its practitioners was unshakable" (Elliott 2001, 21). As for Canadians, few had even heard Schoenberg's music before the end of the Second World War, though some scores circulated among a few eager music students.⁴² Boulanger's loyalty to Stravinsky implied that they would not learn much more about it in her company. Of course other channels of transmission would be open and, in some quarters, the gap would eventually be filled. The influence of Schoenberg and Berg can thus be clearly heard in some Canadian works of the 1950s and 1960s, including, interestingly enough, the scores of a few Boulanger students, such as Papineau-Couture and Beckwith, but more prominently Istvan Anhalt in Montreal and Walter Buczynski (1933–) in Toronto. In fact, twelve-tone music was to become an important trend in Toronto, in great part because of the influence of the composer John Weinzwieg (1913–2006), who studied music at the Eastman School of Music (1937–38) and afterwards enjoyed a long and influential teaching career at University of Toronto. Parallel to the well-known rivalry between Stravinsky and Schoenberg, clearly endorsed by Boulanger since the 1920s, many North American composers took sides as well. Two divergent modernistic branches undoubtedly developed in Canada at around the time

⁴¹ Boulanger's antipathy to the Second Viennese School is often taken for granted; yet sources can be contradictory in that matter (as in others). For example, Elliott Carter writes that, *according to what Copland had told him*, she could play the entire score of *Wozzeck* at the piano, with the help of some able students (Carter 1995, 288). On another occasion, Carter remarks that "during the 1930s, she became less open to the Viennese School and to Bartók ... she had turned away, little by little, from what was indeed already beginning to seem like 'old-fashioned modernism'" (1999, 232). Yet she listened very attentively in the late 1950s to orchestral pieces by the three Viennese composers, conducted in Paris by Hans Rosbaud (1995, 289). While Boulanger's reactions to atonal or dodecaphonic works could occasionally be positive (Rosenstiel 1998, 232), we also are told that numerous students heard harsh statements on Schoenberg's music after the Second World War: "You call *that* music?" (339). In a concert review written for the Paris journal *Spectateur* in January 1947, Boulanger clearly stated her aesthetical opposition to twelve-tone music, a system that "seems to ignore or prohibit a sense of rest, and that is based only on the most complex of sonorous relationships" (quoted in Rosenstiel 1998, 338–39). Finally, according to Doda Conrad, above all things, she recommended that her students *not* show disdain for the works of the Second Viennese School so as not to create martyrs, to give the impression that a treasure was kept hidden (Conrad 1995, 187).

⁴² Violet Archer (1913–2000), a Montreal-born composer who studied with Bartók in New York in 1942, while war was raging overseas (and later with Hindemith at Yale), has declared that she had never heard Schoenberg's music before she arrived in New York, where she regularly visited the music library of Columbia University (interview recorded in Archer 1983, seventh record).

of the Second World War, the local “Boulangerie” being rapidly categorized as the more conservative one.⁴³

It is all the more significant that, despite what has been said or written about Mademoiselle’s selective tastes, her students rarely complained of a lack of openness, at least during the first part of her long teaching career.⁴⁴ On the contrary, many would pay tribute to her willingness to accept the exceptional. She thoroughly knew such a tremendous quantity of music that there was much to take in, whatever her own aesthetic preferences. The truth is, the majority of young Canadian composers-in-the-making who went to her needed to master their craft before they could focus on a contemporary idiom as such. Boulanger was a natural choice. To my knowledge, neither Darius Milhaud nor Olivier Messiaen, two other favourite Parisian teachers, devoted as much energy to insufficiently prepared students. As the American musicologist John Warten Struble aptly points out, “She held the view that a flawless technique, in every practical and theoretical aspect of music the student intended to pursue, was a prerequisite to success” (1995, 127). The basics must be firmly established before breaking the rules could ever be discussed.

This strong conviction that writing music is a demanding craft that one must learn thoroughly remained the backbone of her pedagogy to the very end. Herself a pure product of the Paris Conservatoire composition class of the Fauré era, thus solidly tied to a far-reaching musical tradition, Boulanger taught the “materials of music” systematically and very efficiently, as we know from various testimonies. Working through the harmony treatise by Théodore Dubois, first published in 1921, was a standard procedure. Although he had already studied the same textbook in Montreal with former pupil Gabriel Cusson, Jean Papineau-Couture had to begin all over again, from page one, under Mademoiselle’s guidance. Thereafter, André Gédalge’s monumental treatise on fugue would be put to similar use (1901), as were Paul Vidal’s famous keyboard harmony exercises.⁴⁵ Serious ear training was also mandatory. No one was considered a true musician until every single detail of what has been written down could be mentally heard.⁴⁶ Composing or performing music was a very serious responsibility, and one’s entire life must be devoted to it (as she had done herself, while her younger sister Lili, who died at twenty-four, remained the perfect example of such an all-consuming dedication). “Mastery of all the basic mechanisms—whether in the areas of composition, score-reading

⁴³ With the exception of Anhalt, composers in Montreal showed little interest in strict serialism before the 1950s. By that time, orthodox twelve-tone technique already seemed out of date for the young members of the avant-garde, especially when compared to Pierre Boulez’s first works.

⁴⁴ Of course there are important exceptions, one being the fiercely critical Virgil Thomson (among other sources, Perlis and Van Cleeve 2005, 268–69; and Tomasini 1997, 99–100 and 129–30). I have not found any similar negative reaction in Canada, with the exception perhaps of Pierre Mercure, who attended only a few sessions at rue Ballu in 1949 and rapidly, yet discreetly, chose a different path, towards group improvisations and electronic music.

⁴⁵ A selection of these were later revised, realized and published by Narcis Bonet as *Paul Vidal, Nadia Boulanger: A Collection of Given Basses and Melodies* (2006).

⁴⁶ Every Wednesday, all students had to take part in the singing of great choral works, and many were entrusted to Boulanger’s long-time assistant, Annette Dieudonné (1896–1990), for regular and demanding *solfeggio* lessons.

or instrumental control—was the essential pathway, as she saw it, for gaining access to a higher dimension in our art,” writes Dominique Merlet (2006, 3). As for Elliott Carter, he very clearly stated that the famous and frightening sight-reading and improvisation exercises most of her students had to go through were meant to “strengthen the intellectual muscles” and that in the “more or less progressive schools [he attended] in New York” there was no such emphasis on memorization (1995, 291). This may well be a very important part of Mademoiselle’s legacy. Boulanger, who could play most of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* and many other works from memory, expected similar feats from her more gifted students. Later, many of them would be grateful for acquiring better learning abilities, albeit the hard way.

A SHIFT OF STATUS AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

While for a long time Nadia Boulanger had had “the field entirely to herself,” to borrow the words of New York critic Harold C. Schonberg,⁴⁷ her influence diminished after the war. She surely remained an internationally respected teacher, busier than ever—notably sought after, well into her sixties and seventies, by Americans and Eastern Europeans musicians—but she no longer was the shaping force in music that she had been for at least two decades (Spickett 1987, 138–40).⁴⁸ Paris had changed in her absence, and a younger generation of musicians was now the centre of attention. It was Messiaen, not she, whom Paris Conservatoire director Claude Delvincourt named teacher of harmony in 1941, and a few years later, in 1946, head of a new music analysis class. The available position of teacher of composition was offered to Darius Milhaud, who shared it every other year with Jean Rivier. Upon her return to France, Delvincourt offered Boulanger only a class in piano accompaniment, although she had been teaching harmony for three decades and composition for just as long—for the most part unofficially.⁴⁹ She was neither a man nor an active composer, yet gender might not have been the only issue. We must bear in mind that, in 1945, she was fifty-eight years old and, in the mind of some observers of the music scene, if not of her friends and students, “out of step with the current musical fashion,” as Rosenstiel put it (1998, 335).⁵⁰ Messiaen, on the other hand, was

⁴⁷ H.C. Schonberg, *Musical Courier*, April 1950 issue, quoted in Rosenstiel 1998, 353. Christiane Trieu-Colleney wrote more diplomatically that Boulanger dominated the English, American, and Polish schools of composition between 1920 and 1950 (1982, 83).

⁴⁸ In a number of studies focused on post-1945 music, Boulanger’s name is totally absent (e.g., Graf 1978; Griffiths 1981; Bosseur and Bosseur 1986; Brindle 1987) or appears only as a strong neoclassicism advocate and as the teacher of composers such as Copland, Thomson, Sessions, Berkeley, or Serocki, without any detailed discussion of her influence (Vogt 1982, among other examples).

⁴⁹ More than three decades earlier, in 1911, she had failed to succeed Paul Vidal as professor of piano accompaniment at the conservatoire, after his recent nomination as chair of the composition class (Rosenstiel 1998, 92).

⁵⁰ Had she had been given the position in 1946, the conservatoire’s regulations would have obliged Boulanger to retire in 1958, when she would turn seventy. One could assume that director Delvincourt had a longer involvement in mind when he offered the class to Messiaen. The fact that she had fled from France in times of trouble may also have worked against her (Delvincourt himself took part in the resistance against the Germans and was considered a hero for saving male students of the conservatoire from the mandatory work service).

twenty years younger and a rising figure in French music. Though Boulanger still devoted most of her waking hours to teaching, Messiaen's path-opening class at the conservatoire rapidly took the lead. Some promising French-Canadian avant-garde composers became his students in music analysis, following in the footsteps of Pierre Boulez and Pierre Henry and having as classmates Stockhausen, Xenakis, and Gilbert Amy. Serge Garant (1929–86) and Gilles Tremblay (1932–) stand out among these early Canadian students of Messiaen (see Boivin 1995, 1996, 1997, and 2009).

From the late 1940s onward, Boulanger seemed to deliberately avoid discussions of avant-garde composers or techniques, though by all accounts she was well informed of the contemporary music trends (Rosenstiel, 1998, 355; Beckwith 2012, 105, among other sources). Her name appears on the subscription list of the *Concerts du Petit Marigny* in Paris, founded by Boulez in 1954 (soon to be known as the *Concerts du Domaine musical*) (Conrad 1995, 186–87),⁵¹ and apparently she encouraged her students to attend as well.⁵² Copland testified to having heard her “speak warmly of the music of the leader of the new movement, Pierre Boulez” (Copland 1963, 91).⁵³ She asked her Canadian friend Jean Papineau-Couture to send her a recent collection of texts on electronic music.⁵⁴ Yet her name was linked clearly with the neoclassical current (strongly denounced by Messiaen), although her students have come up with a variety of styles in their own works. Even if one disputes the unequivocal musicological tendency to focus on the new and the progressive, there are foundations to the “conservative” stamp opposed to her and her followers by composers of Boulez's generation. The fact is that the basis of her teaching had barely altered since Copland and Cusson attended her class in the 1920s. Boyd McDonald remembers that in the mid – to late 1950s, “the class focused on Bach Cantatas, Mozart's opera *Idomeneo*, Stravinsky's *Agon*, *Perséphone* and *Oedipus Rex*, the Copland *Piano Sonata* [and] Haydn Quartets”.⁵⁵ The 1971 summer class in Fontainebleau was centred, as William Jordan remembers it, on Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* and *B-minor Mass*, a Buxtehude *Chaconne*, the fugue from Beethoven's *Hammerklavier Sonata*, Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms*, Fauré's *Requiem*, and, of course, Théodore Dubois's *Traité d'harmonie*.⁵⁶ Decades earlier, after the war, just a few months after her return to a disorganized

⁵¹ Jésus Aguila confirms that she attended concerts and suggests that she could have acted as Stravinsky's Paris antenna (1992, 69n).

⁵² Boyd McDonald to the author, 28 July 2004.

⁵³ She particularly admired the extraordinary quality of Boulez's ear (Conrad 1975, 246). Again, sources are contradictory in that regard. According to the American composer Donald Harris, she refused to talk about the concerts at the Petit-Marigny theatre or to discuss Boulez, Messiaen, or Leibowitz's music. “She was terribly bitter about Boulez in those days” (in Rosenstiel 1998, 355). As for John Beckwith, he knew better in 1951 than to mention to her that he had bought Messiaen's treatise *Technique de mon langage musical* (1944) and the score of his *Vingt Regards sur l'Enfant-Jésus* for piano (1944) (2012, 105).

⁵⁴ Boulanger to Papineau-Couture, 5 April 1959, Isabelle and Jean Papineau-Couture fonds, Quebec National Archives in Montreal, MSS 099, box 14, 02–222). The collection referred to is National Research Council of Canada 1957.

⁵⁵ Boyd McDonald to the author, 28 July 2004. See also Rosenstiel 1998, 355.

⁵⁶ William Jordan to the author, 12 January 2007.

Paris, Boulanger had shared with Papineau-Couture—whose development as a composer she followed with sincere interest—her discomfort regarding the new trends: “It is spoken [here] of very dark and complicated ‘music.’ [Francis] Poulenc, [Léo] Prêger, Jean Françaix, [Michel] Ciry write some that is clear, healthy, profound when it should be. And for those who really count, Stravinsky holds the place that belongs to him.”⁵⁷ Those definitely were the composers who “really counted” for her at that time.

The previous remarks do not imply that Boulanger subsequently played only a minor role in postwar Canadian musical life, but rather that the impact of her ideas on composers became less obvious *to the ear*. She no longer was the prominent agent of modernization of music that she once was. Numerous European-born musicians had chosen Canada in the last years of the war or soon thereafter, and some eventually held prominent teaching positions. Through radio and recordings, recent works of Poulenc, Prokofiev, Stravinsky, and the like had become more accessible this side of the Atlantic. Avant-garde movements, quite distinct from the earlier “modernist” currents, appeared in the larger Canadian cities in the 1950s. Yet the list of students provided here (appendix), incomplete as it may be, proves that Canadian musicians still went to her in some numbers. In Canada, the training of composers left much to be desired, particularly in smaller towns. Boulanger certainly knew the right cure for that deficiency.

“LEARNING TO LEARN”: COMPLETE MUSICIANSHIP

Even in view of all her impressive accomplishments, I believe that Boulanger’s competence in harmony, ear training, music analysis, and performance might not have been sufficient to create the legend. Without falling for a “sanctified” portrait of Mademoiselle, we are obviously dealing here with a rich and complex human being, towards whom distinct individuals could feel strong emotional bonds.⁵⁸ Various testimonies, including touching letters from Canadians, provide ample proof. She listened, gave advice, provided encouragement, asked for a constant surpassing of one’s abilities, and strongly promoted a thorough cultural education.

Composer Gabriel Charpentier (1925–), much attracted to the Paris cultural scene, testifies that in 1947 many of his weekly lessons began by Boulanger asking, “So, what have you done? What have you seen?” Teacher and pupil would then converse on a variety of subjects, covering poetry, theatre, literature, or

⁵⁷ “On parle de ‘musiques’ très noires et compliqués. Poulenc, Prêger, Jean Françaix, Ciry en écrivent de la claire, saine, profonde quand il se doit. Et auprès de ceux qui comptent, Stravinsky a la place qui lui revient” (Boulanger, 27 April 1946, Isabelle and Jean Papineau-Couture fonds, MSS 099, box 14, 02–222).

⁵⁸ On the negative side, some Canadian students who met Boulanger in the last years of her career, when she was quite elderly, reacted strongly to some of her judgments regarding style, musical technique, or even one’s abilities (evaluated on the sole basis of one’s specific background). Her remarks could often seem out of date, if not simply shocking. The manner in which she sometimes addressed foreign students (and more specifically Asians or South Americans) in the summer of 1971 was particularly hard to comprehend for composer William Jordan and other North Americans who had graduated from a liberal university during the 1960s (Jordan to the author, 12 January 2007).

museum exhibitions.⁵⁹ He once eloquently stated that she gave him the “taste of learning” (Charpentier 1980). One day, after they had discussed some piece of early music, he followed her advice and looked for ancient manuscripts at the National Library. Touching a handwritten score by Dufay proved a strong and memorable experience.

Boulanger’s famous Wednesday afternoons, devoted for years to polyphonic works of the Renaissance and the baroque, were ground-breaking, as were her well-attended exposés on the history of Western music at the École normale in the 1930s. In her classes, on boulevard Malesherbes as well as rue Ballu, music was actually performed and *heard*, whereas at the Paris Conservatoire, Norbert Dufourcq tended to focus solely on dates and facts to be promptly memorized.⁶⁰ Her erudition and experience as a performer of works by Janequin, Sermsy, Monteverdi, Bach, and others played a role in the establishment of an historical musicology in Quebec, according to the critic and composer Jean Vallerand (Lefebvre 1996, 88).⁶¹ The number of skilled teachers she had formed, later dispersed throughout Canada, argues in favour of a similar acknowledgment from the rest of the country. Many important contributors to the seminal *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada*, first published in 1981, attended her class.⁶²

For Boulanger, as for many of her Canadian pupils (such as Jean Papineau-Couture, Gabriel Charpentier, John Beckwith, Boyd MacDonald, or Kelsey Jones), modernism and “early music” were not necessarily opposed concepts. And that brings us back to the “neoclassical” label, too rapidly applied, and often with derogatory implications. In retrospect, there was a strong logic to her battle in favour of both early and modern music, reconciled in Stravinsky’s so-called neoclassical works. The much-criticized stylistic *volte-face* of the Russian composer in the early 1920s appeared to her fully justified. After all, the composer of the *Octet* for wind instruments (1923) completely absorbed into his modern idiom the very same masters of the Renaissance, baroque, and Viennese classical period that constituted her prime teaching material. Simplicity of texture, purity and continuity of line (the famous *grande ligne* she sought in all the works she read or analyzed), total control over the material, full attention to every detail, restraint and the necessity of every note: those were the aims, they were the right paths to follow.

Composer Boyd McDonald sums up what clearly was a decisive experience: “Boulanger’s basic philosophy has stayed with me through the years. She stressed concentration, paying attention, perseverance, careful revisions and follow through. She encouraged one to ‘make a decision.’ I have often had

⁵⁹ Conversation with the author, 28 August 2004, Montreal. Charpentier later composed more than eighty incidental scores for the theatre and television.

⁶⁰ The organist and musicologist Norbert Dufourcq (1904–1990) taught music history and musicology at the Conservatoire de Paris from 1945 to 1973.

⁶¹ Vallerand was not a student but had often heard about Boulanger from his friend Jean Papineau-Couture and was eager to meet the famous pedagogue when she visited Montreal in May 1958. See Vallerand 1958.

⁶² Among hundreds of contributors are former Boulanger students Kenneth Winters, Istvan Anhalt, John Beckwith, Andrée Desautels, Sterling Beckwith, and Elliott Weisgarber. Winters acted as co-editor, while Beckwith and Papineau-Couture were members of the board.

occasion to remember her words, ‘Do not erase’—valuable in many walks of life” (McDonald to the author, 28 July 2004).

CONCLUSION: “MUSIC BRINGS IT ALL TOGETHER”⁶³

The undeniable impact of Nadia Boulanger as a teacher can be explained by many complementary factors, among others her strong personality and firm musical convictions, her phenomenal command of the keyboard, her profound knowledge of a huge repertoire, her ability to put words to musical emotions, and her astounding control over the “materials of music.” North Americans “found” her at the perfect time, and American scholars have emphasized the determining push she gave to young creative talents, such as Copland, Carter, and Harris. Although her professional and personal ties to Canada were unquestionably less numerous, she certainly left her mark north of the forty-ninth parallel. In the 1920s until at least the 1960s, Canadian music as a whole welcomed that kind of impulse. Not only did she contribute to the technical and artistic development of highly capable and talented composers, she also trained numerous pedagogues and performers, who rapidly joined emerging teaching institutions throughout the country, including conservatories and music faculties. Thus a large number of Canadian musicians indirectly benefited from her legacy.⁶⁴

More specifically, she played a direct role in the professional life of many of her French-Canadian students, for example by confirming in writing the value of what they had learned in France so they could be offered a better teaching status and salary. Montrealer Isabelle Delorme (1900–91), for one, could thank Boulanger for improving her working conditions at the Conservatoire de Montréal.⁶⁵ To be sure, Mademoiselle’s esteem—and sometimes affection—could prove a valuable passport. In those days, to have been a pupil, whether in France or in the United States, of this internationally celebrated pedagogue and performer could open many doors.⁶⁶

But what did she have to say about modern Canadian music as a specific idiom? As some readers may well know, Nadia Boulanger had often expressed faith in “the future” of American music. She valued the fact that American composers did not attempt either to imitate the French, to “revamp” Russian music, or to dilute the German tradition. American music, she felt, tried to capture the mind and soul of its people.⁶⁷ The integration of jazz or folk elements was

⁶³ “La musique, c’est ce qui unit,” a Chinese saying Boulanger had once asked her students to meditate upon (Bail 2002, 77).

⁶⁴ Only one of many examples, this author was taught the materials of music at Université de Montréal by Luce Beaudet, herself a former student of Rosette Renshaw (1920–98), a true disciple of Boulanger who taught, first in Montreal, and later at State University of New York in New Paltz.

⁶⁵ Delorme to Boulanger, 9 June 1961, Nadia Boulanger fonds, Paris, N.J.a.a. 66, 201–22.

⁶⁶ For example, the career in teaching and in Canadian public network broadcasting of the pianist and communicator Maryvonne Kendergi was clearly facilitated by the fact that she had studied for many years with Boulanger in Paris in the 1930s (Bail 2002, 253).

⁶⁷ Interview granted in 1928 by Boulanger to Irving Weil, correspondent of *Musical America*, quoted by Rosenstiel (1998, 224).

seen as a valuable solution.⁶⁸ To my knowledge, Boulanger never uttered such a precise opinion on what Canadian music should be or become. She showed interest in its development, however, and was diligently provided information in writings by students such as Gabriel Cusson, Elzéar Fortier, Jean Papineau-Couture, Gabriel Charpentier, Richard Johnston, and Boyd MacDonald.

According to the Canadian musicologist and pianist Elaine Keillor, many factors coalesced to make Canada a rich loam for the implantation of the neo-classical seeds before the Second World War Two, including the visits of Ravel to Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal in 1928, and of Stravinsky to Toronto and Montreal in 1937; performances by pianists Léo-Pol Morin and Alberto Guerrero of modern European works in Montreal and Toronto respectively, as well as Papineau-Couture's studies of Stravinsky's music with Boulanger.⁶⁹ The neoclassical adventure remains an important chapter of the history of musical modernism in Canada, yet it has inspired few musicological studies of importance.⁷⁰ Scholars interested in Canadian music of the twentieth century are not so numerous and many of them, including this author, have chosen to concentrate their efforts, during the last decades, largely on the development of the avant-garde after the Second World, notably in Toronto and in Quebec. This article may contribute to filling a gap in Canadian cultural history as well as in Nadia Boulanger studies.

⁶⁸ "I believe in the music born of Jazz, in the music born in New York, in the music born also of the sun, the desert, the immense mountains" declared Boulanger to *Minerva* journalist Simone Ratel in the summer of 1928 (quoted in Rosenstiel 1998, 222). Together with Antonin Dvořák, Boulanger is considered an important European advocate for art music in the United States, given the number of her students who successfully exploited the American vernacular (Lubet 1999, 95).

⁶⁹ Gilles Potvin has written an interesting account of Ravel's visit to three Canadian cities (1988, 149–163). As for Stravinsky, he returned to Montreal in 1945 to conduct some of his orchestral works.

⁷⁰ A notable exception is a chapter entitled "The 1950s: Neo-classicism at Its Height" in George Proctor's *Canadian Music of the 20th Century* (1980, 61–102).

APPENDIX. BOULANGER'S CANADIAN STUDENTS^a

When	Who ^b	Where (and what) ^c	What they became
1924–30	Cusson, Gabriel (1903–1972)	rue Ballu École normale Gargenville	Cellist, composer, and teacher. Taught in Montreal (Conservatoire de musique). Probably Boulanger's first Canadian student. Teacher of Jean-Papineau-Couture and Michel Perrault.
192?	Stewart, Reginald (Scotland, 1900–California, 1984)	rue Ballu	Pianist, conductor, administrator, teacher. Large part of his conducting career in Canada and the United States (Toronto, New York, etc.). Head of the Peabody Conservatory (1941–58).
1925–27	Doyon, Paul (1903–86)	École normale rue Ballu ?	Pianist and organist. Also studied with Alfred Cortot and Louis Vierne in Paris. Career in Montreal. Gave occasional concerts and talks in the United States. See 1929–30.
1928–30	Roubakine, Boris (Switzerland, 1908–Calgary, 1974)	École normale (piano repertoire)	Pianist, teacher. Russia-born parents. Gave many concerts with violinist Bronislaw Huberman. Canadian resident in 1949. Taught in Toronto (Royal Conservatory of Music and University of Toronto), Banff, University of Alberta, University of British Columbia, and University of Calgary.
1929–30	Doyon, Paul	École normale rue Ballu	See 1925–27.
1929–33	Kendergi, Maryvonne (Armenian Turkey, 1915–2011)	École normale rue Ballu	Pianist, teacher, music historian, radio presenter, teacher. Largest part of her career in Montreal, well-known personality. Canadian citizen since 1960.
1930?	Landry, Hélène (Ottawa, ?–?)	École normale (harmony)	Pianist and teacher. Taught in Ottawa (University of Ottawa, 1931–?) and in Quebec City (Conservatoire de musique, from 1944 to late 1960s).
1930?	LeBlanc, Arthur (1906–85)	École normale	Violinist and composer. Previous studies in Boston and New York. First violinist in the Orchestre de Paris in 1935–36.
1930–34? (at least 1933) (summers)	Sampson, Peggie (Scotland, 1912–2004)	Fontainebleau? rue Ballu (harmony, counterpoint)	Cellist, gambist, and teacher. Immigrated to Canada in 1951 (Canadian citizen in 1973). Teacher at University of Manitoba (1951–70) and York University (1970–77).
1932–35	Ronan, John (1894–1962)	rue Ballu ?	Administrator, clergyman, teacher, choir conductor, composer, specialist in Gregorian chant. While studying in Rome, period of training in Paris. Also student of Louis Vierne. Worked in Toronto.
1938?	Aubut, Françoise (1922–84)	rue Ballu, École normale	Organist and teacher. Also studied with Messiaen. Multiple prizewinner at the Paris Conservatoire (previous studies in Boston). Introduced music of Dupré and Messiaen in a long list of concerts in Quebec, Ontario, etc. Teaching career in Quebec City and Montreal. Many well-known musicians among her students.

^a Many names must surely be added to this list. Musicians have been included only when sufficient details could be provided.

^b Place of birth is specified only for students not born in Canada.

^c Unless I had a personal contact with a student, this information was found in printed sources such as biographical notes and is not always precise or reliable.

Appendix. Boulanger's Canadian Students (cont'd)

When	Who ^b	Where (and what) ^c	What they became
1941–43	Papineau-Couture, Jean (1916–2000)	Longy School, Cambridge	Composer, pianist, administrator. An important Canadian student of Boulanger (she conducted his <i>Psalm CL</i> in Montreal in 1958). Admirer of Stravinsky and lifelong friend of Boulanger. Large output as a composer. Dean of Université de Montréal music faculty (1968–73). See 1944–45.
1942–43	Lavoie, Claude (1918—?)	Longy School, Cambridge	Organist, composer, and teacher. Professional organist and teacher in Quebec City (Conservatoire de musique, 1952–79).
1943	Johnston, Richard (Chicago, 1917–Calgary, 1997)	Madison (Wisconsin)	Composer, teacher, administrator, editor, music critic, conductor, radio presenter. Canadian citizen in 1957. Taught theory at University of Toronto (1947–68). Also worked for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). With Boulanger, played the American premiere of Stravinsky's <i>Sonata for Two Pianos</i> (1944).
1944–45	Papineau-Couture, Jean	Madison (Wisconsin) and Santa Barbara (California)	See 1941–43.
1944–46	Fortier, Elzéar (Mgr.) (1915–87)	Santa Barbara (California) and Paris, rue Ballu	Clergyman, composer, teacher, and administrator. Teacher in the music department of Université Laval (Quebec City) and later dean of the theology faculty. Composer of religious works.
1946–47	Perrault, Michel (1925–)	École normale	Composer, conductor, percussionist. Previously a student of Gabriel Cusson. Also a student of Arthur Honegger in Paris. Worked as composer for the CBC (1949–68).
Between 1946 and 1949	Desautels, Andrée (Montréal, 1923–)	rue Ballu (analysis, choir)	Music historian, teacher. First prize in music history from Conservatoire de Paris. Taught in Montreal (Conservatoire de musique, 1949–88) and Université de Montréal (1961–64).
1946–48	Landry, Jeanne (Ottawa, 1922–2011)	rue Ballu	Pianist, accompanist, composer, teacher. Career in Montreal and Quebec City. Involved in modern and contemporary music scene. Taught at Université Laval (Quebec City, 1951–83).
1946–49	Anhalt, Istvan (Budapest, 1919–2012)	rue Ballu	Composer, teacher, writer. Previously a student of Kodály. Canadian citizen in 1955. Teacher at McGill University in Montreal (1949–71). Founder of the McGill electronic music studio. Also taught at Queen's University in Ontario (1971–84). Many composers and musicians among his students.
1946–48	Blackburn, Maurice (1914–88)	rue Ballu?	Composer, conductor, instrument inventor, film specialist. Previous study in Boston. Long career as composer of film music in Ottawa and Montreal for the National Film Board (1942–78). Later a student of P. Schaeffer in Paris.

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Appendix. Boulanger's Canadian Students (cont'd)

When	Who ^b	Where (and what) ^c	What they became
1947 (summer)	Beaudet, Pierre (1924–2002)	Fontainebleau	Pianist, accompanist, coach, composer. Previous studies with G. Cusson. Worked in Montreal for the CBC (radio and television).
1947–53	Charpentier, Gabriel (1925–)	rue Ballu	Composer, poet, artistic advisor, teacher. Previous studies with J. Papineau-Couture. Also studied Gregorian chant. Career in Montreal for the CBC as composer and advisor (1954–80). Composer of many scores for television and theatre.
1948–49	Heller, Irving (Rhode Island, 1926–BC, 2003)	Paris Conservatoire and rue Ballu? (composition)	Pianist, teacher. Previous study in New York and California. Canadian citizen in 1960. Taught piano in various institutions in Montreal (Conservatoire de musique, 1960–78) and Ottawa. For many years co-director of an important music competition in Montreal. End of life in Victoria, BC.
1949–50	Jones, Kelsey (Connecticut, 1922–2004)	rue Ballu (composition)	Composer, harpsichordist, organist, pianist, teacher. Moved to Canada in 1945, Canadian citizen in 1956. Previous study in New Brunswick and Toronto. Taught counterpoint at McGill University (1954–84). Baroque or classical forms and techniques used in many of his works.
1950	Sieb, Calvin (New Jersey, 1925–2007)	Fontainebleau and rue Ballu (composition, aesthetics)	Violist, conductor, teacher. Taught in the conservatoires of Quebec (1951–56) and Montreal (1955–79). Violist in various formations, including Montreal Symphony Orchestra (1960–79). Violin teacher at the University of Ottawa.
1950	Mercure, Pierre (1927–1966)	rue Ballu	Composer and television producer. Briefly a student of Boulanger. Interested in improvisation and electroacoustic music. Co-founder of the Société de musique contemporaine du Québec (Montreal).
1950	Émond-Mercure, Monique (1930–)	rue Ballu	Cellist and comedian, first wife of composer Pierre Mercure (see above).
1950?	Weisz, Robert (Roumania, 1925–)	rue Ballu?	Pianist. Lived and studied in Switzerland. Canadian citizen in 1975. Piano teacher at Université Laval, Quebec City (1969–99).
1950–52)	Beckwith, John (1927–)	rue Ballu	Composer, music critic, writer, pianist, lecturer, radio producer and presenter, teacher, musicologist. Large output as a composer and writer. Pieces for wind instruments written in Paris. Career in Toronto. Strong supporter of Canadian music.
1951	Renshaw, Rosette (1920–1998)	rue Ballu?	Teacher, ethnomusicologist. Taught in Montreal (1956–70) and in the United States (State University of New York in New Paltz). Specialist in Indian music. Studied the Boulanger's archives fonds in Lyon.
1951?	Wood, Robin (1924–2004)	rue Ballu?	Pianist, teacher, administrator. First taught in London. After 1965, career as pianist and teacher at Victoria Conservatory of Music, BC.

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Appendix. Boulanger's Canadian Students (cont'd)

When	Who ^b	Where (and what) ^c	What they became
1952	Rogers, William Keith (Charlottetown, 1921–)	rue Ballu?	Composer. Previous studies at Juilliard. Moved to Montreal in 1960 and later apparently abandoned music. See 1954–55.
1952–53	Weisgarber, Elliot (Massachusetts, 1919–2001)	rue Ballu	Composer, clarinetist, ethnomusicologist. Previous studies at Eastman School of Music. Canadian citizen in 1975. Teaching career at University of British Columbia (1960–84). Specialist in Asian music.
1952–53	Beckwith, Sterling (New York, 1931–)	Fontainebleau rue Ballu Conservatoire	Conductor, musicologist, concert singer, coach, and festival organizer. Further studies in Rome, Salzburg, and St. Petersburg. Immigrated to Canada in 1969 as founding director of York University's Music Department.
1952–53?	Gilbert, Kenneth (1931–)	rue Ballu? (composition)	Harpsichordist, organist, musicologist, teacher. International career as harpsichordist. Lives mostly in France.
1952–55	Matton, Roger (1929–2004)	rue Ballu	Composer, ethnomusicologist, teacher. Also studied with Messiaen. His <i>Concerto for Two Pianos and Percussion</i> (1955) composed in Paris. Worked in Quebec City as ethnomusicologist.
1952?–1955	Mercure, Georges (Dom) (1905–1993)	rue Ballu (harmony and counterpoint)	Organist, choir conductor, teacher, specialist of Gregorian chant. Studied notably in Paris and Solesmes. Since 1923, Benedictine monk in Quebec (St-Benoît-du-Lac and Mont-Laurier). Translator into French and composer of many volumes of liturgical chants.
1953	Martin, Raymonde (1923–)	Fontainebleau	Cellist, teacher. Not a proper student but played in Fontainebleau under the direction of Boulanger. Taught in Ottawa and Hull.
1953–54	Berry, Wallace (Wisconsin, 1928– Vancouver, 1991)	rue Ballu?	Composer, theorist, teacher, pianist, administrator. Teaching career in Michigan (1957–77) and British Columbia (after 1984). Many publications on music theory.
1954?	Vineberg, Yehuda (ca. 1925–1999)	rue Ballu?	Montreal music teacher, composer, and choir conductor, specialized in Hebrew liturgical and Jewish music.
1954–55	Rogers, William Keith	rue Ballu?	Cf. 1952.
between 1954 and 1957	Grenier, Monik (1931–)	Conservatoire rue Ballu	Pianist, accompanist, teacher. Also a student of Marguerite Long and Yvonne Loriod. Career as accompanist and opera coach in Montreal.
1955	MacDonald, Boyd (1932–)	Fontainebleau	Composer, pianist, pianofortist. Taught theory and piano at University of Manitoba (1967–76) and Wilfrid Laurier University, Ontario (1976–96).
1955 and 1956	Thompson, Claude (Mgr.) (1927–)	Fontainebleau	Composer, pianist, choir conductor, teacher. Catholic priest of high rank. Teacher and choral conductor in Trois-Rivières, Quebec.

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Appendix. Boulanger's Canadian Students (cont'd)

When	Who ^b	Where (and what) ^c	What they became
1955 and 1956	Delorme, Isabelle (1900–91)	Fontainebleau	Pianist, composer, theory teacher. Teaching career in Montreal. Her harmony treatise was approved by Boulanger in 1967 but remained unpublished. Teacher of many Quebec composers (Matton, Hétu, Morel, Prévost).
1955–57	Schermann, Paul (1907–96)	rue Ballu?	Conductor, violinist. Violinist in the Toronto Symphony Orchestra (1932–52). Conductor or member of different orchestras, in Europe and Canada.
1957–60	MacDonald, Boyd	rue Ballu and Fontainebleau	See 1955. In Paris composed his <i>Suite for Nine Solo Instruments</i> (1959).
1959–60	Winters, Kenneth (1929–2011)	rue Ballu?	Music critic, composer, choir conductor, radio presenter, editor. Career as art critic and radio presenter (CBC), mostly in Toronto. Co-editor of the <i>Encyclopedia of Music in Canada</i> (1981, 1992).
1960, 1962	Buczynski, Walter (1933–)	rue Ballu?	Pianist, composer, teacher. Previous studies with Milhaud in Aspen. Career as pianist and, in Toronto, as teacher of theory composition since 1969. Large output as a composer.
1963–64	Ozolins, Arthur (Germany, 1946–)	rue Ballu	Pianist. Parents Latvia-born. Canadian citizen in 1964. Further studies in New York and Paris. Promoter of Latvian and Canadian music for piano.
1967–70	Schubert, Peter (New York, 1946–)	rue Ballu (1967–69) and Fontainebleau (summers of 1968 and 1970)	Musicologist and choir conductor. PhD from Columbia University. Now a Canadian citizen. Acclaimed choir conductor. Professor at McGill University. Author (and co-author) of highly regarded textbooks on Renaissance and baroque counterpoint.
1969, 1970 (summers)	Caplin, William (Chicago, 1948–)	Fontainebleau (harmony and analysis)	Theorist specializing in the study of eighteenth-century musical forms and in the history of theory, whose publications have been awarded prestigious prizes. Came to Canada in 1978 and has been teaching since then at McGill University.
1969–71	Koprowski, Peter Paul (Poland, 1947–)	rue Ballu?	Composer, conductor, pianist, teacher. Moved to Canada in 1971. A Canadian citizen since 1976. Taught in Toronto, Montreal, and London (Ontario). As a composer, notably influenced by Renaissance composers (Ockeghem and Josquin).
1971 (summer)	Jordan, William (Athens, Georgia, 1951–)	Fontainebleau (harmony, counterpoint, composition)	Composer and teacher. PhD in music theory. Also a student of George Crumb. Taught theory at University of Florida. Moved to Calgary in 1978 (teacher of theory and composition at University of Calgary). Has composed over 200 works.
1971–73	Phillips, Edward R. (1949–)	Fontainebleau, rue Ballu	Music theorist, organist, and teacher. PhD from Yale. Specialist of Fauré's music. Taught at University of Guelph, retired in 2011.

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Appendix. Boulanger's Canadian Students (cont'd)

When	Who ^b	Where (and what) ^c	What they became
1971, 1973 (summers)	Wright, Patricia (1951–)	Fontainebleau	Organist and choir conductor. Doctorate of musical arts from Yale. Active as a recitalist. Taught at University of Ottawa. Since 1986, organist and music director at Metropolitan United Church in Toronto.
1973–79	Boulanger, Richard (1947–)	rue Ballu (music analysis, accompaniment, etc.)	Pianist and musicologist. Studied six years with Boulanger. PhD in musicology from Université de Paris-Sorbonne. Teaches at Université de Moncton, New Brunswick. Director of the Music Department.
1974–75	Labelle, Nicole (1946–)	rue Ballu	Musicologist, teacher, pianist, organist. Previous studies with Boulanger's former student Françoise Aubut. Teacher at University of Ottawa since 1976. Specialist in French composer Albert Roussel and women composers.
1975–76	Amstrong, John Gordon (1952–)	rue Ballu	Composer, studied at the University of Toronto and University of Michigan (PhD in composition). Teacher at the University of Ottawa.
1976–77	Century, Michael (1955–)	rue Ballu	Composer, pianist, conductor, musicologist, administrator. Further studies in Berkeley. Career as teacher and administrator at the Banff Art Centre. Interested notably in electronic music. Possibly the last of Boulanger's Canadian students.

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ABSTRACT

This article traces the rich Canadian legacy of the twentieth-century French musical legend Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979). Through teaching her more than seventy Canadian students, both French- and English-speaking, the renowned French pedagogue played a crucial role in the development of concert art music in this country from the 1920s, notably in Montreal and Toronto. Her numerous Canadian students went on to distinguish themselves as composers, teachers, performers, musicologists, theorists, administrators, and radio producers. Drawing on extensive archival and primary research, this study demonstrates the decisive impact Boulanger had on the development of musical styles and compositional practices in Canada in the last century.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article retrace le riche héritage canadien de la grande personnalité de la musique française du XX^e siècle qu'était Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979). À travers son enseignement auprès d'une soixantaine d'élèves canadiens, tant francophones qu'anglophones, la célèbre pédagogue française a joué un rôle important dans le développement de la musique de concert au Canada à partir des années 1920, en particulier à Montréal et à Toronto. Ses nombreux étudiants canadiens ont continué de se démarquer en tant que compositeurs, enseignants, artistes, musicologues, théoriciens, administrateurs, et producteurs de radio. En se basant sur une longue recherche dans les archives et les sources de première main, l'auteur démontre l'impact décisif qu'a eu Nadia Boulanger sur le développement de styles musicaux et de pratiques compositionnelles au Canada au cours du siècle dernier.